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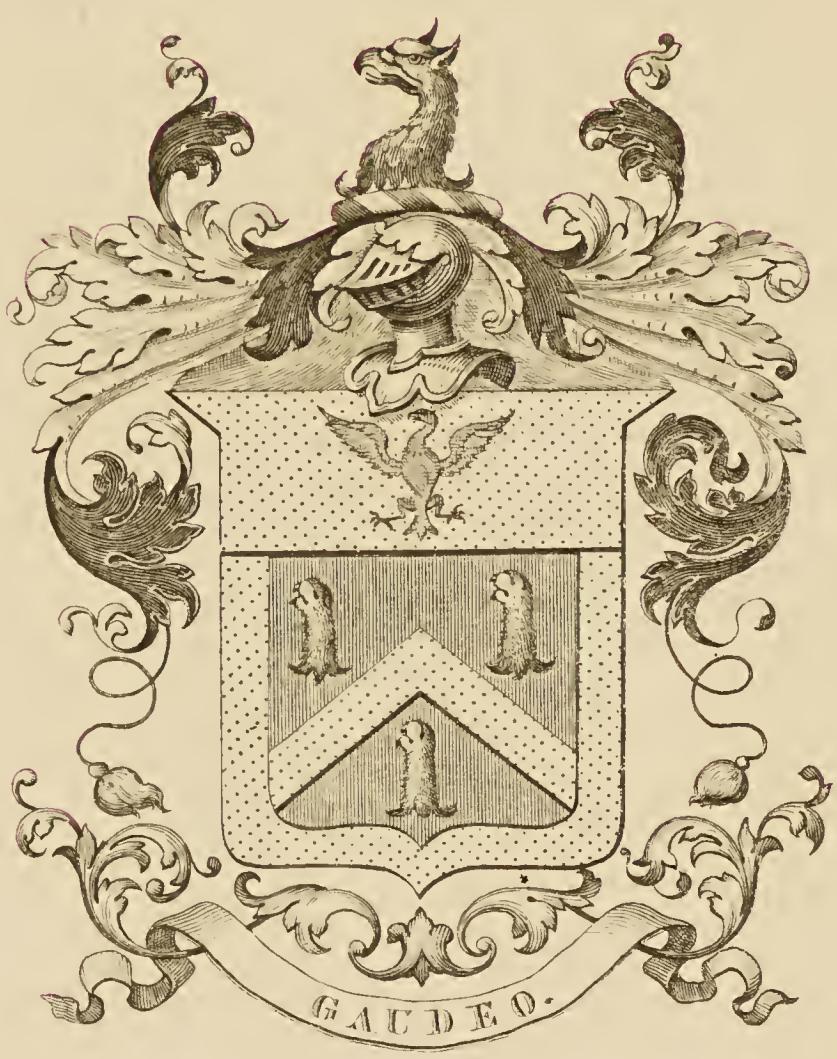

John Carter Brown.

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THE
TRUE INTEREST
OF
GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

[Price One Shilling.]

RPJCB

THE

TRUE INTEREST

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

WITH RESPECT TO HER

AMERICAN COLONIES,

Stated and Impartially Conſidered.

By a MERCHANT of LONDON.

———————*Diſtat, ſumaſne prudenter.*
An rapias. ———————— HOR.

L O N D O N,

Printed for G. KEARSLEY, in *Ludgate-Street.*
M,DCC,LXVI.

ERRATA.

Page 18, line 20, for *without*, read *unleſs*.
P. 28, in the note, for p. 16, read p. 36.
P. 33, l. 4, dele comma after *were*.
P. 37, l. 10, dele *but*.
P. 40, l. 22, for *will*, r. *would*.
P. 40, l. 24, for *will*, read *would*.
P. 45, l. 11, after *kind*, inſert *of*.
P. 49, l. 5, after *pence*, inſert *currency*, *for* 100*l*.

THE TRUE INTEREST OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

THE behaviour of the colonies in North America, on account of the late act of parliament, commonly called the Stamp-act, ſeems to be of ſo extraordinary a nature, as to demand the moſt immediate and attentive conſideration of the legiſlature. The author hopes, therefore, any attempt to inveſtigate the cauſes of the conduct the Americans have purſued, will not be received with diſpleaſure by the public; and if any hints in the courſe of it be found uſeful, he flatters himſelf, whatever imperfections and improprieties may be obſerved in it, will be pardoned, as not intended to miſlead? he will with readineſs receive the correction of candor, and own his miſtakes

the moment they ſhall be pointed out to him.

The importance of the American colonies to Great Britain, ſeems to be ſo well underſtood, that it would be miſpending time to endeavour to convince any body of a truth which is univerſally acknowledged; but it may not be improper, for the information of thoſe who only conſider the fact as indiſputable in general, without being acquainted with the particular advantages reſulting from the ſeveral different parts of that immenſe territory to Great Britain, if a ſhort account be given of the nature of the traffic carried on by the colonies, on the continent in particular, and the grievances they have of late complained of; and which, perhaps, may be found to be the occaſion of the late diſturbances. I ſhall be eaſily pardoned for ſaying no more of the trade of the iſlands than is abſolutely neceſſary, on account of their connection with the continent; their intereſt with reſpect to the mother-country having already been pointed out by many abler pens than mine, and being at preſent perfectly well underſtood.

North

North America, in the point of view in which I am desirous of considering it at present, ought to be divided into three parts, North, Midland, and South. The first comprehending all the country north of the Jerseys; the second, the Jerseys, Pensylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina; and the third consisting of South Carolina and all those countries which we are in possession of to the southward.

The whole of this immense region, (whose boundaries to the westward have not hitherto been ascertained) extends from the 50th to the 25th degree of north latitude; and consequently the temperature of the air, and quality of the soil, must be extremely different in different parts of it. In the first division are produced excellent masts, and other timber; the animals furnish us with plenty of very rich furs, and the seas and rivers abound with prodigious quantities of fish, both of the greater and lesser kinds. The midland parts produce tobacco, all kinds of corn, grain, and pulse; live cattle of all sorts, both for burthen and provisions; the country abounds in iron and copper mines; and, if the inhabitants can be induced to make

the attempt, there is not the leaſt doubt but the beſt of wines may be produced in a country, where moſt delicious grapes grow wild on vines of a ſize hardly to be credited by thoſe who have not been eye-witneſſes of the fact.

The third, or ſouthern diviſion, is capable of producing ſilk, coffee, cacao, cochineal, indigo, cotton, rice, olives, fruit and wine; and there are ſome articles common to each diviſion, viz. hemp, flax, naval ſtores, peltry, pot-aſh, and lumber.

The exports of the northern provinces to Great Britain, conſiſt of ſpermaceti and train oils, fiſh, furs, maſts, ſhips, and ſome articles of leſſer conſequence. The greateſt part indeed of the fiſh which are taken, are immediately carried to foreign markets; but the remittances made for that article to Great Britain, upon a moderate computation, are ſuppoſed to be not leſs than 300,000l. annually. Many of the ſhips built in North America are ſold to foreigners, which is another means of bringing a large ſum of money into the kingdom. Proviſions, the moſt ſtaple commodities of the countries immediately

ſouth-

ſouthward of thoſe laſt-mentioned, are likewiſe exported to advantage to foreigners, and the greateſt part of their produce viſits Great Britain in ſpecie. Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, in the ſingle article of tobacco *, produce the ſum of 500,000l. ſterling, at leaſt, from France, Germany, Flanders, Italy, and other parts of Europe. — The provinces of South Carolina and Georgia are of no ſmall advantage to us: we are now in a great meaſure ſupplied from thence with our indigo: Europe has very little rice which is not brought to it from thoſe colonies; and the large ſums of money which we pay to France, Spain, Italy, Turkey and China, for ſilks, both raw and wrought, will be ſaved, if the ſouthern provinces are properly encouraged to raiſe that article, and their value be almoſt ineſtimable.—Such are the exports of North America to Eu-

* I do not here take any notice of the great advantage the revenue receives from the duty paid on tobacco conſumed here, becauſe I conſider the money as raiſed upon the conſumers in England; but I only beg leave juſt to put the reader in mind that it is principally conſumed by labourers and mechanics, who are enabled to purchaſe great part of it by the coloniſts purchaſing the produce of their labours.

rope; and, in return for them, they receive from Great Britain not only every neceſſary (except proviſions) but almoſt every luxury of life. In order to pay for which, they ſend the whole produce of their land, which will find a ſale with us; but as that is much inſufficient for that purpoſe, they alſo ſend every thing elſe, which is the production of their country, to every place we will permit them to traffick, in order, thereby, to enable them to make up the deficiency, but in vain: they continually are in arrear to us, and and ever will be ſo, while ſuch immenſe tracts of fine land tempt the poſſeſſors of thoſe which are adjoining to them to make new ſettlements, the effecting which will ever keep them from amaſſing other riches, and be a continual ſource of wealth to theſe kingdoms, as it inſures us a conſtant ſupply of raw materials, and an increaſing market to return them to, when wrought up.

This ſhort view of the nature of our trade with the North American colonies ſufficiently points out from whence we are enabled to ſupport that burthen of taxes

which

which our very exiſtence, as a free people, obliges us to raiſe, in order to put ourſelves upon a reſpectable footing in Europe, and to impower us to afford our colonies that protection and liberty they have ſo lately experienced, and ſtill continue to enjoy. But, while we are ſtraining every ſinew in order to make that protection effectual, and that liberty permanent, it is not to be wondered at that we call upon them to ſuſtain a part of that weight with which we are oppreſſed. The chief queſtion is, whether the ſhare laid upon them be too great, or whether it is not rather injudiciouſly placed?

It is apparent, from what has been before ſaid of the produce and imports of North America, that they have not endeavoured to enter into any kind of cultivation which will be prejudical to the produce or manufactures of Great Britain; but let it not be from thence imagined, that it is not in their power: no perſon, who is the leaſt acquainted with North America, but muſt be ſenſible, that the wool of their ſheep is as well adapted for all the uſes to which it is applied in England, as any

in the world *. The only method to prevent their making any attempts of tha kind, is, by encouraging them to turn their force to other objects, which we cannot ſo properly attend to, and making it as much their intereſt as ours, to ſeek a different employment from that of their fellow ſubjects in England. In order to do this, it is moſt certainly found policy to make every thing, demanded by them from Great Britain, come to their hands as cheap as poſſible; as thereby every temptation will be removed to their endeavouring to produce, or make it amongſt themſelves; and every facility ought alſo to be

* About thirty years ago, when the produce of the tobacco colonies was at a very low price, the diſtreſs of the inhabitants obliged them to manufacture great part of their own wool, cotton, and flax; and there are merchants now in England, who remember moſt of the common people of thoſe provinces cloathed in the cloth and linen manufactured amongſt themſelves. No longer ago than the year 1757, the ſame happened again in the province of Virginia, where it was (diſgraceful for a gentleman not to appear in a cotton coat made in his own family.—As ſoon however as the price of their commodities roſe in Europe, they immediately ſent home, (for ſuch is the tender appellation Great Britain is known by in the colonies,) for all thoſe articles which a neceſſary œconomy obliged them before to make for themſelves.

given

given to their exports, in order to enable them to pay for what they receive from us. If I am right, in this principle, there has certainly been a miſtake committed in the late regulation, which directs the additional ſums to be retained on the India goods, and German linens, exported to the colonies; as it obliges them to pay more money for the ſame goods than they uſed to do; which not being in their power, muſt, of conſequence, prevent their demanding ſo large a quantity; by which means the nation loſes, without the revenue being benefited. It is not only from this additional duty, that the American colonies are hurt, but they are prevented alſo from receiving ſlaves at ſo cheap a rate as heretofore; for in order to prevent the goods, which on exportation are to leave this additional part of the duty, charged on them at importation, from being clandeſtinely reimported, a new difficulty has been thrown in the way of the merchant trading to Afriea, who is obliged to cancel his bond, given for the exportation of ſundry ſorts of India goods neceſſary for the trade of that quarter of the world,

within

within eighteen months after the date thereof; by the oath of the maſter of the ſhip, who probably may not be able to finiſh his voyage in two years, as it often happens, (particularly upon the Gold Coaſt) that ſhips lay ſeven, eight, and even twelve months, before they are compleatly ſlaved. The reſtriction, laſt-mentioned, has given ſo much uneaſineſs to many principal merchants trading to Africa, as well as to the gentlemen who are concerned in ſupplying ſuch merchants with the India goods, for which ſuch bond muſt be given; that the firſt difficulty they are brought into by it, will probably force them to quit the buſineſs; and the loſs of our African trade may be the fatal conſequence.

The obliging the Americans to pay more for the goods they receive from us, than heretofore, is not all that they have reaſon to complain of; we have done ou endeavour, to prevent their being able to pay for them at all, by ſtopping the export to ſtrangers of great part of their produce, which we cannot receive from them ourſelves, thereby preventing them from taking ſuch com-

commodities, in payment for it, as they were accuſtomed to do, and which they might advantageouſly ſend to Europe: this we have done, by laying ſuch a tax upon them as amounts to a prohibition: thus the following goods cannot be imported into North America without paying

Foreign Sugar -	£. 1	2	0	per cwt.
Coffee - -	2	19	9	per cwt.
Indico -	0	0	6	per lb.

The duty of foreign molaſſes, is indeed reduced to three-pence per gallon; but I doubt whether any great advantages have reſulted from this alteration.

I am well aware, I ſhall be told, that ſuch tax uponthe importation of the articles above-mentioned, from the foreign American Iſlands to our ſettlements in North America, has been impoſed in order to the advantage and emolument of our own iſlands, and not with any view to raiſe money upon the North Americans.

I have too great a regard for the iſlanders, as fellow-ſubjects, to wiſh North America any advantages at their expence; but I have alſo the ſame regard for the inhabitants of North America; and cannot

withou

without concern, ſee laws made to the prejudice of the latter, which are not only of no advantage to the iſlands, but manifeſtly prejudicial to the intereſt, both of North America and Great Britain: ſuch muſt every law be, which prevents the export of thoſe commodities from N. America to ſtrangers, which cannot be exported by them to advantage to G. Britain, or the Britiſh American iſlands, or of which they have more than either, or both the laſt-mentioned countries can purchaſe from them; except the goods received in payment, ſhould be ſuch as manifeſtly tend to deſtroy the trade of ſome other part of the Britiſh empire; the contrary of which, I hope to be able to prove, will be the caſe with reſpect to the articles above-mentioned, of ſugar, coffee and indigo.

The foreſts of North America afford ſuch an inexhauſtible fund of lumber, that the inhabitants are able to ſupply not only our iſlands, but the whole world, with it; and therefore a freedom of exportation ought to be permitted, not only to the American, French and Spaniſh iſlands,

but

but alſo to Europe*. Flour, corn, horſes, rice, and ſuch other produce, as North America abounds with, ought alſo to be permitted a freedom of export to ſuch of the iſlands of America (not ſubject to Great Britain) as ſhall be in want of, or willing to receive the ſame. Some people, indeed, are of opinion, with reſpect to the latter, that they ought not to be permitted to receive any thing, in payment, but caſh; (for there are many object to their being allowed to import foreign molaſſes;) but I hope I ſhall have no great difficulty in ſhewing that ſuch opinion is very erroneous: It muſt ariſe from one or other of theſe two reaſons; either, that the payment to the North Americans of ſuch commodities, injures our own iſlands, by

* Staves and heading, for the making of Caſks, are much demanded at Bourdeaux, Porto, Liſbon, &c. but the colonies, from whence thoſe articles can be exported of the beſt quality, and at the cheapeſt rate, are not only prohibited carrying them to thoſe markets, in common with the reſt of North America, but if that prohibition ſhould be taken off, they are deprived of the advantage of any back freight, as they are not allowed to carry back even a load of ſalt, to cure their proviſions with; nor are they permitted to load wine from Porto or Liſbon, or any part of the Spaniſh dominions, or even from the Canary iſlands.

making

making their produce of leſs value, or, that it is much to the advantage of our rivals, in trade, to permit them ſuch an opportunity of vending theirs; without which, they could not cultivate their lands; or if they did cultivate them, it would be at ſo great a diſadvantage, as to give our ſugar colonies a great ſuperiority over them.

It was, I believe, upon a ſuppoſition the former objection was well founded, that the reſtriction complained of was laid upon the North American commerce: I dare ſay the queſtion has been very maturely conſidered, and I therefore am fearful of being thought too hardy in aſſerting, that the fact would not prove ſo; but this I am ſure of, a remedy would be very eaſily found, and might as eaſily be applied; though I own myſelf of opinion, ſuch commerce between North America and the French and Spaniſh iſlands would in no wiſe affect the price of ſuch commodities (either in our own iſlands or in Europe.)

It has been aſſerted, that the Britiſh iſlands in America do not produce ſugar ſufficient to ſupply the demands of the Britiſh ſubjects; and as a proof of it, an account

of

of imports and exports has been produced from the Cuſtom-houſe books for ten years, from 1745 to 1755 *, the lateſt period that can with any propriety be pitched upon, as ever ſince the year 1755, there is no poſ-

* An account of the raw ſugar imported from Chriſtmas 1745, to Chriſtmas 1755, diſtinguiſhing each year.

		C.	qr.	lb.
To Chriſtmas	1746 —	753,449	0	17
	1747 —	608,462	2	14
	1748 —	981,449	1	6
	1749 —	933,296	2	5
	1750 —	914,044	2	23
	1751 —	825,947	1	27
	1752 —	837,083	0	5
	1753 —	1,117,939	3	1
	1754 —	859,131	2	12
	1755 —	1,177,369	0	25
		9,008,173	1	3

An account of the quantity of raw ſugar exported from Chriſtmas 1745 to Chriſtmas 1755, diſtinguiſhing each year.

		C.	qr.	lb.
To Chriſtmas	1746 —	93,244	0	22
	1747 —	51,885	1	1
	1748 —	115,727	1	11
	1749 —	128,107	2	6
	1750 —	107,964	0	22
	1751 —	43,769	3	6
	1752 —	35,712	2	16
	1753 —	55,687	2	6
	1744 —	42,818	2	17
	1755 —	105,030	0	24
		779,947	1	19

ſibility

ſibility of diſtinguiſhing what was really the produce of the Britiſh colonies, and what was clandeſtinely imported as ſuch, but which were in reality either the produce of prizes taken in America, or obtained by contraband trade with the French and Dutch iſlands: And by that account it appears, that no more than 900,817 cwt. of ſugar was annually imported upon an average, and the average of the export was only 77,994 cwt. which is a quantity not ſufficient for the conſumption of Ireland only, which uſed to ſupply the deficiency from Liſbon. And it is notorious, that notwithſtanding the duty of five ſhillings which formerly was charged upon all foreign ſugars imported into North America, more than half of what was conſumed there was clandeſtinely imported from the French iſlands. Should this be the fact, it is very apparent, that however the price of ſugar may be reduced by the North Americans having permiſſion to *uſe* as well as import foreign ſugars, there would be no diſadvantage to the Britiſh empire in general, as the whole conſumption of the produce of our iſllands is amongſt ourſelves; and therefore is like

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an inland commerce, which very little affects the public, though the balance may be much more in favour of one part than of the other. But ſhould I be miſtaken in my opinion, that a much greater freedom of commerce with the French and Spaniſh iſlands than is at preſent allowed the North Americans, would by no means be injurious to the intereſt of the Britiſh American iſlands; yet there is an eaſy means of preventing ſuch inconveniences, if it be apprehended; by obliging all ſuch ſugars, coffee, &c. to be re-exported to Great Britain, under ſuch reſtrictions as ſhall render them unſaleable but for exportation: and there needs but very little argument to prove, that ſuch permiſſion to the North Americans to bring the commodities of the French and Spaniſh iſlands to markets, where our own are ſeldom or ever ſent, can in no wiſe injure the latter in price; more eſpecially as there is not the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe, but that if the ſubjects of Britain did not bring them to market, other carriers would be found for them, if they could not bring them themſelves. The laſt obſervation may ſerve in part for an anſwer to the other ob-

jection made by ſome to this traffick, viz. that unleſs it was permitted, the French would have great difficulty in vending their produce, or could not cultivate their land, at leaſt to the ſame advantage as at preſent, for want of lumber for their caſks, and timber for houſes, mills, &c. which they would not eaſily get elſewhere. I ſhould be happy, if I could congratulate my countrymen upon the truth of that obſervation; but, alas! experience convinces us of the contrary.—The French and Spaniſh iſlands are large and fertile, and capable of producing almoſt every thing they have occaſion for: the inhabitants having more valuable commodities to cultivate, are willing to deal with the Britiſh colonies for thoſe they cannot obtain, without employing their ſlaves to a leſs advantage than they do by purchaſing of the North Americans; ſuch, as without they bought them, would be ſo far from being of advantage to the owners, that they would really become burthenſome to them; and it therefore muſt certainly appear very ſtrange, that we ourſelves ſhould lay any obſtacles in the way of the North Americans, that may obſtruct their exchanging

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the ſuperfluous part of the produce of their country for ſugar, cotton, coffee, indigo, &c. by which we in reality make the latter commodities, in a ſort, the produce of North America; and by permitting (if not compelling) the re-exportation of them to foreigners, we not only prevent that commerce from being injurious to our own American iſlands, but furniſh the North Americans with a means of paying for thoſe goods which they purchaſe of us, for which they have no other way of making remittances. It is the more to be wondered at, that ſuch falſe notions of commerce ſhould prevail in this inſtance, when a glaring example of the impropriety of it is before our eyes; it was under the ſame pretences of ſupporting our own ſugar colonies, and diſtreſſing thoſe of France, that Engliſh ſhips were prohibited loading ſugars home to England from the French iſlands, by the very heavy duty which they ſtill are liable to; it was urged, if we did not bring them home, the French could not; but what was the conſequence of the experiment? the French merchants either freighted or bought ſhips from other nations, and we not only loſt the

freight, but a nurſery for a great number of ſeamen, which is now a very conſiderable ſource of the French naval ſtrength.

I pretend not to ſay, that the French and Spaniſh iſlands do not receive a benefit from this intercourſe with the Britiſh ſubjects in North America. I am ſure if they do not, there is no reaſon in the world we ſhould expect they will permit it; for what commerce can long ſubſiſt where there is not a mutual benefit ariſing from it? All we have to conſider is, whether, upon the whole, it is more advantageous to us than to forego it intirely. If any diſadvantage would reſult from this commerce to the prejudice of our own ſugar colonies, I hope I have proved it would not be from liberty given to the North Americans of importing the articles at preſent prohibited.

I am not ſo well convinced of the propriety of their importing foreign molaſſes; I will therefore ſtate the arguments both for and againſt, as fairly as in my power, and leave my reader to determine for himſelf. On the one hand it is urged, 'the North Ame-
'ricans have a neceſſity for that commo-
'dity, in order to carry on their trade to the

'coaſt

'coaſt of Africa, and their fiſhery on the
'coaſt of New England and the banks of
'Newfoundland. With reſpect to their Af-
'frican commerce, it is the ſole article
'which they carry to the coaſt, where they
'diſpoſe of it to the ſhips of the different
'nations trading there; from which they
'receive in payment all the different ſpecies
'of goods neceſſary to form a compleat car-
'go for trading with the natives; of whom,
'having purchaſed a cargo of ſlaves, &c.
'they return to America, from whence
'they remit the produce of their cargo to
'Great-Britain. That if they are prevent-
'ed importing ſuch foreign molaſſes, this
'branch of their commerce will be entire-
'ly loſt.

'The uſe of it in the fiſhery is after
'it is diſtilled into rum, but it is alſo brew-
'ed into beer, with the aſſiſtance of ſpruce;
'which is the common drink of the peo-
'ple employed in the fiſhery, who pay for
'it with the refuſe of their fiſh, which are
'uſed by the French and Spaniards for the
'proviſion of their negroes; and which,
'unleſs diſpoſed of to them, would remain
'on the hands of the fiſhermen for want

‘ of other purchaſers. It is further alledg-
‘ ed that provided the importation of it in-
‘ to North-America be not permitted, or a
‘ heavy duty be laid upon it, no advantage
‘ can reſult therefrom; becauſe the fiſhery
‘ at Newfoundland occaſions ſuch an in-
‘ tercourſe between our fiſhermen and thoſe
‘ of France, it will be impoſſible to prevent
‘ our ſhips from being ſupplied by thoſe be-
‘ longing to the French iſlands, and that at
‘ an advanced price, proportioned to the
‘ difficulty they will be put to in obtaining
‘ it. — That unleſs we conſent to take
‘ molaſſes in exchange for our lumber and
‘ other goods ſent to the French iſlands,
‘ they will intirely prohibit the intercourſe;
‘ and as a proof of that fact it is urged, that
‘ the duty of three-pence per gallon, which
‘ is now impoſed (but very partially col-
‘ lected) upon the importation of that arti-
‘ cle into North-America, has occaſioned
‘ a duty of eight ſhillings per quintal to be
‘ impoſed in the French iſlands on all Britiſh
‘ fiſh, which is extremely prejudicial to our
‘ fiſhery in America.

‘ Another argument for the liberty of
‘ importing this commodity is, that a cargo

‘ of

'of lumber is of ſo ſmall value, that the 'amount of it is not ſufficient to purchaſe a 'compleat lading of any other articles.'

Allowing the above arguments, it ought to be conſidered, whether the injury done to the commerce of the Britiſh ſugar iſlands does not counterballance the advantages gained by North-America, from the permitting ſuch foreign molaſſes to be imported and uſed, without reſtriction, not only for the purpoſes for which its utility is acknowledged, but likewiſe for the conſumption of the inhabitants of North-America, and in their trade with the Indians.

It is notorious the French have a much larger ſhare of the ſugar trade than ourſelves; their iſlands being much more capacious, muſt certainly have greater quantities of good land, which conſequently may be purchaſed on eaſier terms; and the inhabitants being leſs burthen'd with taxes than thoſe of our iſlands, may certainly make ſugar at a cheaper rate. But as the Britiſh ſugar colonies have a market for their rum in Europe, and for their rum and molaſſes in America, they have thereby an advantage which in ſome meaſure ballances thoſe the

French enjoy: And every interruption which can be given to the French in the diſpoſal of thoſe articles, tends to put the Britiſh ſugar planter nearer upon a footing with their rivals than heretofore; as, unleſs we purchaſe them, it is hardly poſſible they can make any other uſe of them than in feeding their cattle; it not being the intereſt of France to ſuffer the diſtillation of molaſſes into rum, to the prejudice of the conſumption of brandy. This therefore is a very ſtrong motive for our diſcouraging ſuch importation of foreign molaſſes, particularly as we may expect that a conſiderable addition to what our own iſlands uſed to produce, will in all probability be made in the iſlands ceded to us by the late treaty of peace. The ſettlement of which will occaſion a great demand for lumber, frames of houſes, ſugar works, mills, &c. and the canes planted on new land grow ſo luxuriant as to afford little elſe but molaſſes; it is but reaſonable therefore to reſtrain the North-Americans from trading with foreigners, for any commodities which will particularly interfere with the produce of theſe new acquiſitions.

It is alſo to be conſidered, whether the taking off the duty of eight ſhillings per quintal, which the French have laid upon the Britiſh fiſh imported into their iſlands, will be a conſequence of our permitting the free importation of their molaſſes; becauſe, if not, the duty charged by them upon our fiſh amounting to a prohibition, I ſee no way our fiſhermen can diſpoſe of it but in exchange for the French rum and molaſſes at ſea.—But if, notwithſtanding what is before urged, the neceſſity of the North-Americans, for the ſupply of their fiſheries and their Affrican trade, renders it expedient for them to be permitted the importation of foreign mollaſſes, it will be worth conſideration, whether it ought to be charged with the preſent duty of three-pence per gallon, or indeed with any duty at all. If it be neceſſary to permit the importation of it, for the ſake of the two branches of commerce above mentioned, every impoſt upon it will in ſome degree be an injury to them. But there is another reaſon, which perhaps may appear more concluſive to thoſe who expect to raiſe money by the duty: it is, that when any tax is laid upon a commodity

nearly

nearly equal to the preſent, which is fifty per cent. upon the prime coſt, it is ſuch a temptation, that even in England there is the utmoſt difficulty, nay, an abſolute impoſſibility, totally to prevent ſmuggling, although the number of ſuperviſors, tide and land waiters, riding officers, &c. are almoſt as numerous as the traders: What chance is there then of collecting ſo heavy a duty in a country like America, where not more than a dozen officers are appointed to ſuperintend and guard the commerce of that coaſt, from Cape Charles to Rhode iſland? If therefore there be a propriety in laying any tax upon the importation of this commodity, it ought not to be ſo heavy as to lay the trader under any temptation to engage in a clandeſtine commerce. One-penny per gallon is certainly as much as it ought to be charged with; and I will venture to foretell, without the ſpirit of prophecy, that it will produce a much more conſiderable ſum, than what has been collected under the preſent duty.

I own however, that I ſhould think the northern colonies would be extremely benefitted, if the conſumption of the rum diſtilled

led from ſuch molaſſes could be reſtrained to the purpoſes for which they are allowed to be neceſſary, as the uſe of it amongſt themſelves is become ſo immoderate as to call aloud for ſome reſtriction; and with reſpect to their commerce with the Indians, the want of it may be ſupplied, as uſefully at leaſt, by ſpirit diſtilled from their corn, to ſay nothing of the produce of their vines, provided they would be induced to cultivate them.—If there is a practicability of reſtraining the uſe of ſuch rum to the purpoſes of commerce, it will moſt certainly very conſiderably leſſen the demand for it, and will, in ſome meaſure, anſwer the purpoſe of diſtreſſing the French ſugar planter. In hopes an expedient will be found for this purpoſe, it will be neceſſary to examine the remaining reaſons urged for an unlimitted permiſſion to import the article in queſtion, viz. that a cargo of lumber is of ſo ſmall value, molaſſes is the only lading they can purchaſe in return; and unleſs they are allowed to receive that, they muſt come back dead freighted. The other is, that unleſs they agree to receive molaſſes in payment, the French, &c. will not purchaſe their commodities at all.

all. The firſt objection I hope will, in a great meaſure, be obviated, if they have libertyof loading thoſe commodities on board, which are not at preſent in their power to do; as there appears to me no reaſon whatever (provided my principle is a good one) why they may not purchaſe with caſh, or bills of Exchange, ſufficient to compleat their lading of the more valuable commodities, provided the purchaſe ſo to be made be not at a higher price than it ought to be, to leave the purchaſer a freight for his proffit; becauſe, if ſuch commodities are obliged to be re-exported, the caſh will be again ſent back into the kingdom, with an addition of all that ſhall be gained by the carriage of them. Indeed I do not ſee why ſuch ſhips may not be permitted to proceed directly with their cargoes to Great-Britain,* where ſuch part of them as they ſhall not be allowed to diſpoſe of may be landed for exportation, and put under the king's locks, and each particular package be made its own warehouſe, as is at preſent, the caſe with reſpect to tobaccos. Bond may alſo be given for re-exportation within a limited time,

* Though there is no law toprevent theirimportation into Great-Britain, yet there is ſo heavy a duty paid at landing as renders it impracticable. Vide p. 16.

upon pain of paying ſuch duty as ſhall be thought proper, which will be expreſſed in the bond. This would effectually prevent a poſſibility of its interfering with the produce of our own iſlands.

The other objection ſeems at firſt ſight to have greater weight; for to be ſure, if the getting a market for their molaſſes is the only advantage reſulting to the French and Spaniſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies, from their intercourſe with the North Americans, they would be much to blame to permit it on any other terms. But they certainly receive other benefits, which render the commerce deſirable to them; though, perhaps, the ballance would be rather in favour of the North Americans, as they have no other market for the goods they diſpoſe of there. It may, however, with propriety be ſaid, in a commerce where no caſh paſſes in payment of a ballance, but the whole is carried on by way of barter, that the trade is mutually advantageous. For although it be allowed the French iſlanders have proviſions and lumber ſufficient for the maintenance of their people, and the ſupply of their neceſſities, yet the North Americans can afford to ſell theſe commo-

dities

dities to them for much leſs than they can afford to raiſe them at; or, to explain myſelf more clearly, one ſlave employed in producing ſugar, cotton, cacao or indico, will be able to produce enough of ſuch articles to purchaſe a much greater quantity of thoſe the North Americans carry to them, than his labour could procure, and, whatever the difference is, will be gain to them; ſo that there is no reaſon to dread a ſuppreſſion of that trade, unleſs it be from an imagination that they can thereby induce you to trade with them upon their own terms. And, as a farther proof that ſuch trade will be connived at (if not permitted) the Dutch, from St. Euſtatia and Curaçoa, trade with the French iſlands for ſugar, indico, &c. for which they give North American produce in exchange. And the opulence of the inhabitants of thoſe barren Dutch iſlands, ſhew they carry on the trade to advantage, although they firſt purchaſe thoſe very commodities of our Northern coloniſts themſelves, and conſequently trade under the diſadvantage of a double freight, which in ſuch bulky articles is of vaſt importance. I do not pretend to ſay the commerce carried

ried on by the Dutch is altogether allowed of; but if they can carry on ſuch a clandeſtine trade, cannot we do the ſame? and the North Americans will deſerve much leſs reproach for carrying on a contraband trade with foreigners, to the emolument of the whole nation, than for ſmuggling upon their own coaſts, to the manifeſt injury of Great Britain. After what I have ſaid, I leave it to better judgments, whether any, and what reſtriction ought to be laid on the importation of foreign molaſſes into North America: but, whatever may be determined on that head, it is certain, that the trade of the N. Americans have, in other inſtances, been exceedingly interrupted by the reſtrictions it has lain under from the late regulations; and I am apt to believe the difficulties we have put them to, have produced no one advantage, either to Great Britain or its revenues, while the inconvenience they have felt, has ill diſpoſed their minds towards us, and, in a great meaſure, been the ſource of their late miſbehaviour. As I have ſo freely given my opinion upon this ſubject, it may perhaps be imagined, I mean to reflect upon

on the gentleman principally concerned in forming the regulations complained of, I ſhould be extremely ſorry, if that was the caſe; on the contrary, I profeſs myſelf to have a very high opinion both of his abilities and integrity; and I conſider the late regulations, as the *ſuite* of a ſyſtem that has been long adopted, for the government of the colonies; and the inconveniencies now complained of are not ſo great as they have heretofore ſuſtained, with a moſt admirable patience. I could give a variety of inſtances, but a few may ſuffice: in the late war, when North America was bleſt with the moſt plentiful harveſts ever known there, a general was empowered to lay an embargo on proviſions all over the continent, which prevented the exportation of ſuch a quantity of corn, that, I ſpeak within compaſs when I ſay, as much was deſtroyed by vermin as would have brought the owners upwards of 500,000 l. ſterling; nor was this the only ill conſequence reſulting from this injudicious and ill-timed ſtep; for the vaſt quantities of corn, obliged thereby to be ſtored, bred ſuch a multitude of thoſe ver-

min

min as deſtroyed great part of their ſucceeding crop; and years elapſed before the inhabitants of Maryland, and the ſouthern parts of Penſylvania were, freed from that particular kind, called the wolfe; and it is to be obſerved, that this kind of fly was not known before that period, in any part of the continent north of South Carolina. Since then no want of corn in Great Britain has ever occaſioned a particular permiſſion in favour of the colonies to import it; but they have only been allowed ſuch permiſſion in common with other nations, whoſe proximity have given them an opportunity to reap the advantage, to the utter excluſion of the colonies, except in one inſtance *, although thereby a conſiderable ſum is carried out of the kingdom; when, if the colonies alone were allowed to ſend corn to us when we wanted it, it would be ſent in payment of part of the debt they owe us.

The tobacco colonies have ſuffered much from the heavy duty laid upon their produce, which has vaſtly leſſened its con-

* The year 1758; when there was no corn in Europe.

ſumption, and the conſequence will ſoon be ſeverely felt, in the loſs the revenue will thereby ſuſtain. Every body muſt remember when that article was given gratis by the publicans to their cuſtomers, which prodigiouſly encouraged the conſumption, as it was generally called for; and, if very little of it uſed, was probably deſtroyed; now, amongſt the common people, whoever takes tobacco, generally carries it in his own box: multitudes have left off taking it; and, as it is notoriouſly nauſeous at firſt, it will probably be more diſuſed, eſpecially as it is in a ſort baniſhed polite company; and even in the form of ſnuff, is not half ſo much made uſe of as heretofore. It is not indeed to be ſuppoſed people, even of the middling rank, will deprive themſelves of any gratification, of the kind I mention, from the conſideration of the increaſe of its price, which to be ſure is very trifling, when put in competition with what uſe has in ſome meaſure made, if not a neceſſary, an amuſement, we ſhould not willingly be deprived of: but it is not ſo with the lower people; if they find the price advance upon them,

they

they muſt content themſelves with a leſs quantity; and, finding that expenſive, they will endeavour to prevent their children accuſtoming themſelves to the uſe of it, which they will the readier do, as they will not be induced to it from the ridiculous, though conſtant practice of aping their ſuperiors.

The tobacco planters would not however have reaſon to complain, provided the impoſts charged upon that commodity were proportionable to what was paid by others; but the contrary is ſo much the caſe, that when a duty is laid, *ad valorem*, upon dry goods, that article, by being rated at ten times * more than its value, pays ten times more in proportion than any other goods which are taxed at the ſame time.

Another hardſhip which the coloniſts have long complained of likewiſe, and which is not only an injury to them, but to Great Britain, is, that many ſpecies of goods which are intended for exportation (even tobacco, which is put under the king's

* Tobacco, though upon an average it is not worth more than two-pence per pound, is rated at twenty-pence per pound.

ſocks) and bond given for that purpoſe, are obliged to pay the old ſubſidy, or perhaps other duties upon the landing of them,* without which they cannot be carried to the market they are intended; by which means the merchant is not only diſabled from giving his correſpondent a larger credit, or extending his correſpondence, by being forced to keep a large part of his capital unemployed, for the purpoſe of making ſuch depoſit, but is obliged to export ſuch goods immediately, in order to get the ſum of money thereby locked up at liberty again, although ſuch immediate exportation may be a means of glutting the market they are ſent to, and loſes to the nation a conſiderable ſum in warehouſe rent, which we pay to Holland, Hamburg and other places. I could give many other inſtances of the like kind, but hope the foregoing will be ſufficient to ſhew the neceſſity of an inſpection into, and alteration of ſuch particular laws, as ſhall be found injurious to the commercial intereſts of Great Britain; and at the ſame time my mentioning them will ſhew,

* Particular foreign ſugars, which are liable to a duty of 1l. 17s. 6d. per C. upon importation.

that I do not mean to blame any particular man, or ſet of men, for the late regulations; but that my arguments are levelled at the ſyſtem which has been invariably purſued by every ſet of miniſters for a great length of time. Nor have I the leaſt doubt, but if any plan had been propoſed to them, for the advantage of the colonies, conſiſtent with the good of the whole Britiſh empire, but they would have readily put it in execution, of which the many bounties, and other encouragement, given to the colonies from time to time, are ſufficient evidence.

I have ſtill a further view in pointing out the oppreſſion the commerce of North America has for a long time lain under; to ſhew, that though the ſtamp-duty has been the oſtenſible cauſe of the late riots and diſturbances in that country, yet that, in reality, is but a ſmall part of their grievance; and, however warm and heated imaginations may call the occurrences in America by the name of inſurrections or rebellion, yet, I hope, no ſober-thinking man will conſider what has paſſed there, as the act of the people of America in general. I doubt not there is a general repug-

nance to the tax, but am ſure the oppoſition to it, which will be made by the colonies, will be ſuch as is conſiſtent with that obedience and attachment they have always ſhewn to their King and their fellow ſubjects in Great Britain. If any individuals have committed outrages, let them be puniſhed; but let that kind of mercy temper juſtice, which always ought to be ſhewn to perſons who are miſtaken. Many gentlemen of great abilities in North America have thought the coloniſts, by their charters, or for other reaſons, exempt from internal taxes, impoſed on them by any other authority than that of their own aſſemblies. Perſons acting under ſuch a ſuppoſition may be allowed to plead it in extenuation of crimes, which might otherwiſe, with more propriety, be called by the harſh epithets which ſome have given them. As I am not a judge myſelf of the claim made by the coloniſts to ſuch exemption, and it is now to be conſidered by the higheſt authority of the kingdom, I ſhall decline giving my opinion, and only endeavour to ſhew, that though there may neither be an im-

propriety

propriety in Great Britain's impoſing internal taxes upon the colonies, or inability in the inhabitants to pay the taxes impoſed, it deſerves the utmoſt attention on our part, that their ſhare of the burthen may be proportioned to their ſtrength, and ſo diſpoſed, as to render the remainder eaſier to be born by us. If they are injudiciouſly taxed, the conſequence will be fatal in proportion to the amount of the ſum raiſed; and every tax ſeems to be an improper one, which ſhall tend to take bullion from the North American colonies. I do not pretend to ſay, that the North Americans ought, from their poverty, to be exempt from bearing a proportion of taxes, for they are not poor, their riches are however of the patriarchal ſort; they have large tracts of land, and "flocks and herds, even much cattle," but they have no ſilver and gold; at leaſt what little they have is not ſufficient for their moſt neceſſary purpoſes; and a paper currency has been ſubſtituted in their ſtead, by which means they are enabled, when their induſtry procures them a ſmall addition, to ſhip it home in payment of part of their debts due to the merchants of Great Britain,

tain, with whom they deal annually for more than the amount of their whole produce; nor have they been hitherto able to procure, from their commerce with other nations, ſufficient to pay the overplus, but, on the contrary, are at preſent much in arrear, ſeveral millions being computed to be now due from North America to theſe kingdoms. It is therefore evident, that if we raiſe any money upon the colonies, it will be much to the diſadvantage of the inhabitants of Great Britain. We at preſent have their all, and can we have more? Nor will ſuch tax (be it what it will) at all increaſe the revenue. Suppoſe, for inſtance, the ſum of 20,000l. ſterling, levied on the inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland, they muſt of conſequence take ſo much leſs of your manufactures as would amount to that ſum, and muſt alſo employ ſo many hands in making ſuch as they would not receive from you as will enable them to make good that deficiency, by which means the revenue will loſe at leaſt as much by its decreaſe in another branch as the 20,000l. amounts to.—But let us examine this matter a little more attentively. The labour of

a negro

a negro in the tobacco colonies is worth about 5l. ſterling; or ſay he can maintain himſelf in food, and make the value of 15cwt. of tobacco. Thus it will require the labour of 4000 men to raiſe the ſum required to be levied. The conſequence of this ſum raiſed and paid to government will be, that the planters will be diſabled from remitting ſo much to the merchants, to whom they are in debt in England, who will thereby be prevented from ſending them cloathing, and other manufactures to the ſame amount, the want of which will neceſſarily oblige them to employ other of their ſlaves in manufactures, the number of which I will ſuppoſe to be only half of thoſe who were employed to pay the tax, as I compute the annual expence of cloathing for a negro, plantation utenſils, &c. exported from Great Britain, to amount to about 2l. 10s.—Two thouſand people being thus employed in making Britiſh manufactures, will naturally occaſion the growth of tobacco to be leſs by 3000 hhds than it would otherwiſe be, and conſequently ſo much leſs will be imported into Great Britain.

It is ſuppoſed Great Britain conſumes about one-fourth of all the tobacco grown in the Britiſh colonies; and the duty upon an hogſhead of tobacco, for home conſumption, amounts, upon an average, to upwards of 25 l. ſterling, which upon 750, being the fourth part of 3000 hogſheads, amounts to 18,750 l. to ſay nothing of the loſs to the revenue in the branches of beer, ſoap, candles, &c. which would have been conſumed by the Britiſh manufactures in making the goods which the ſum of money raiſed by the tax would have paid for.

At the ſame time I conſider the diſadvantage reſulting from an attempt to raiſe money on the North Americans, I can't help lamenting the apparent inconſiſtency ſuch a ſtep ſhews in the councils of Great Britain, which cannot fail of reflecting great diſhonour upon them. It is but a very ſhort time ſince the legiſlative power of theſe kingdoms gave the moſt public proofs of their ſentiments with reſpect to the inability of the inhabitants of North America to pay taxes, by ſending them a conſiderable ſum of money, in order to pay the neceſſary expences incurred by them in the late

late war. This money was ſent when they were much more able to ſuſtain any burthen of that kiud than they have ever been ſince. And there can be no doubt that inability will not be removed by the reſtrictions their commerce has lately been laid under. What then muſt have been their ſurprize! when they found the public opinion ſo ſoon changed as to require back not only the money ſo ſent them, but a much greater annual ſum?

I have already ſhewn, in the inſtance of tobacco, how little it will aſſiſt the revenue to lay taxes upon a people who have nothing but labour to pay you with, and which they have already mortgaged to you for many years to come: and though perhaps it may be ſaid, that tobacco is the only article which the truth of my aſſertion can be demonſtrated from, yet that alone will evince the impropriety of raiſing money upon the colonies, as it cannot be doubted but it will operate in the ſame *manner* upon every other article, though perhaps not in the ſame *degree*. I own, if money is to be raiſed upon the colonies at all, I am ready to acknowledge the propriety of that ſort of tax

which

which has been lately impoſed in preference to any other, as it leaſt affects the perſons of the leaſt property. But at the ſame time I acknowledge a ſtamp duty to be a tax which is leſs felt than almoſt any other, yet I cannot help expreſſing my ſincere wiſh the late act of parliament may be repealed, as I am convinced it will never anſwer the intent for which it was paſſed; nor is there a practicability of carrying it into execution in many parts of North America, even if no oppoſition ſhould be made to it. If the ſtamps are to be paid for in ſpecie, the inhabitants of the provinces of North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, are in a deplorable ſituation, for I believe 100ol. ſterling cannot be found in all the three. If in paper currency, what can be the advantage reſulting from the receipt of it? when ſuch currency is of no uſe beyond the limits of the province in which it ſhall have been reſpectively paſſed.

As I have aſſerted the impropriety of raiſing *money* upon the North Americans, and at the ſame time acknowledged the expediency of their contributing towards the ſupport of the government of Great Britain

tain, it may be looked upon as a kind of paradox, but I hope to explain myſelf ſatisfactorily.

Without entering into a critical diſquiſition, how, and in what manner, and for what purpoſe, government was firſt inſtituted amongſt mankind, it will not, I believe, be doubted, but that wherever the ſupreme power has been lodged (whether in one or many) the inhabitants of each nation have held their poſſeſſion by a kind feudal tenure, and for many centuries, all the taxes paid, or ſervices performed, were in kind; and it is but of late years that money has been made uſe of amongſt us as a kind of univerſal medium, either for rent, taxes, or the common ſervices performed by feudal tenants. It therefore involves no abſurdity in it to propoſe a tax upon the North Americans upon that footing. And though they cannot, without great prejudice both to themſelves and Great Britain, pay a tax in money, yet they will not be injured, or indeed oppreſſed, by being obliged to pay a tax in ſuch kind of commodities as will be beneficial to Great Britain, at the ſame time it is of advantage

to themſelves. I flatter myſelf alſo, that the charge, of innovation, or novelty, will not be againſt me, when it is conſidered, that the Windward iſlands have long ſince adopted this plan, and actually at preſent pay a duty of 4 1-half *per cent.* of all their ſugars to the King, which ſugars are ſhipped home, and diſpoſed of by the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms.—Nor does any ill conſequence ſeem to have ever reſulted, or to be apprehended from that method. Indeed the fact is, that almoſt all the parochial and other taxes, for the ſupport of the internal police of the ſeveral governments in America, have been collected in produce; in many provinces the cuſtom ſtill continues; and many merchants, now living in London, muſt remember, that not many years ago all commerce was carried on by way of barter, and the price of one ſpecies of goods regulated by another, inſtead of by money: there cannot therefore be any objection to laying ſuch a tax upon the colonies, and I hope it may be done ſo as not to be burthenſome to them, while it may be highly beneficial to us.—If the expedien-

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cy of ſuch a tax be approved, I need take very little pains to point out what are the kinds of produce the Americans ought to pay it in, every one will be ready to mention hemp and flax, as the articles moſt wanted by us, and which will be ſooneſt raiſed and brought to perfection in the colonies; and I believe there is not a diſtrict on the whole continent where great quantities of ground cannot eaſily be found fit for the purpoſes of one or both theſe valuable materials; but that ſuch tax may not be oppreſſive to the inhabitants, or by any means diſtreſs them in their circumſtances, which would prevent their increaſe, and be therefore productive of conſequences infinitely more diſadvantageous than would be ballanced by any immediate increaſe of the revenue, I would propoſe, whatever quantity they are obliged to furniſh ſhall be paid for at a fixed price. But to explain myſelf more at large, I would propoſe that, in lieu of the preſent ſtamp-duties, a tax ſhould be laid upon every white man, of the age of ſixteen to fifty, and upon every black man or woman of the ſame ages; or in otherwords, upon every

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tithable perſon of * 28lb. or one quarter of a hundred of clean well dreſſed merchantable hemp or flax; to be collected by the ſheriff or proper officers in each pariſh, (in the ſame manner as the public dues are in Maryland), which ſhould once or twice in a year be brought in the king's warehouſes, and there delivered to the collector of his Majeſty's cuſtoms for the port or diſtrict which ſhall be appointed for that purpoſe; thence to be ſhipped to Great-Britain, to the conſignation of the commiſſioners of the navy for his Majeſty's uſe. Upon the firſt collection of this duty, by the ſheriff or pariſh officers, I would propoſe, that receipts ſhould be given for the amount of the quantity of hemp or flax delivered by each perſon, ſuch receipts to paſs in payment at the rate of 20s. current money, for every 1 cwt. mentioned therein to be received; and which receipts, being carried to the collector of the cuſtoms, after the hemp and flax ſhall have been delivered to him as

* An acre of tolérable ground will produce from four hundred to ſeven hundred and an half of hemp or flax, beſides the ſeed; and one negroe will more than tend five acres of land; ſo that one quarter of a hundred is no very conſiderable part of a man's labour.

abovementioned, ſhall by him be received, and bills upon the treaſurer of the navy given in their ſtead, at the rate of, one hundred thirty-three, pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence ſterling, payable within a limited time in Great-Britain, ſo as to prevent the government being in any actual advance for the ſaid commodities; which, if they ſhould not be wanted for the uſe of the navy, might be ſold by a public ſale in the ſame manner the four one-half per cent. ſugars now are ſold by the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms.

I apprehend, that the price above-mentioned will on the one hand be thought fully ſufficient as on the other. I am fully convinced, the crown would gain ſufficiently, even after deducting the expences of package, freight, warehouſes, &c. * And I apprehend the utility of this plan is too apparent to need any comment. The payment for it in thoſe kinds of negociable receipts will ſupply the place of a paper currency, which will have a permanent and

* Perhaps it may not be thought improper in times of peace, that the King's ſhips in the American ſtation might annually return to Great Britain, armed *en flute*, with the hemp and flax on board, which would be a further ſaving to the nation.

intrinſic value, and which, being every year renewed, will continue to augment the riches of the country in proportion as the number of inhabitants ſhall increaſe, and ſupply them with a new ſtaple commodity, for a great part of which they will be ſure of a market at home, and are thereby furniſhed with a new means of making remittances to Great Britain.

It is not my intention to form a plan for this kind of tax which ſhall not be liable to objections, I only mean to trace the outlines; nor do I, by mentioning the articles of hemp and flax, pretend to ſay, there may not be other articles which may in ſome parts be ſubſtituted to greater advantage in their ſtead, as ſilk, cotton, &c. but I have mentioned hemp and flax as the primary objects of our regard, not more on account of their utility, than with reſpect to the eaſe and facility with which they may be cultivated in every part of N. America; and I ſhould apprehend, that the advantages to our fellow ſubjects in that part of the world will, by this mode of taxation (if ſuch a name may with propriety be applied to it) be as great as to the inhabitants of Great Britain, as it

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not only brings a market home to their doors, which will ſupply them with a paper currency of equal value with Exchequer bills, but alſo encourages ſo uſeful a mode of cultivation, as, while it tends to enrich them, inſures to the mother country the means of fitting out a fleet whenever the intereſts of any part of the Britiſh empire demand that exertion of our ſtrength, when we may otherwiſe be prevented from doing it at a time of our greateſt neceſſity.

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